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DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION: EFFECTIVE MOBILIZATION AND INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Preliminary version of the 1994 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The 1994 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development was requested by the General Assembly in its resolutions 44/77 of 8 December 1989 and 44/171 of 19 December 1989. In those resolutions the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to submit a preliminary version of the 1994 World Survey to it at its forty-eighth session, through the Commission on the Status of Women and the Economic and Social Council, in 1993.

2. The final version of the World Survey is to be presented to the General Assembly in 1994 and, in accordance with Commission on the Status of Women resolution 36/8 of 20 March 1992, 1/ will be one of the principal documents for the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in 1995.

3. The General Assembly, in its resolutions 46/98 of 16 December 1991 and 44/77, requested the Secretary-General, in updating the World Survey, to place particular emphasis on "the adverse impact of the difficult economic situation affecting the majority of developing countries, in particular on the condition of women", and to give "special attention to worsening conditions for the incorporation of women into the labour force, as well as the impact of reduced expenditures for social services on women's opportunities for education, health and child care". Through an examination of the impact of current trends and policies and of the overall economic and social situation of women, the World Survey will consider current goals and strategies and their implications for women and the society as a whole.

4. Pursuant to resolution 44/171, the World Survey is also "to identify obstacles to women's economic role in key areas of development, with particular focus on the socio-economic aspects of emerging trends with respect to women and education, health, population, income distribution, employment and the environment, as well as the participation of women in economic and political decision-making and their economic role at the national, regional and international levels". The Survey should also "contain proposals for concerted national, regional and international action to enhance the role of women as development agents and beneficiaries". Resolution 44/171 thus suggests the need for an in-depth examination of the root causes of inequality in women's participation in development. It is recognized that obstacles to women's economic role are not only economic, but lie also in social relations. The resolution also draws attention to participation of women in decision-making in a broad sense, which is closely related to the goal of participating in redefining the development agenda.

5. The World Survey on the Role of Women in Development is a joint effort of the United Nations Secretariat and the specialized agencies of the United Nations system. In it, the United Nations system seeks to present a comprehensive analysis of policy issues and concepts related to the advancement of women. The approach to the World Survey has evolved as a response to economic and social changes, the questioning of existing development models and new thinking on the implications of gender equality.

6. When first issued in 1985, 2/ the World Survey revealed the importance of women's contribution to economic and social development. Against the background of a sectorial analysis of women's economic participation, the 1989 World Survey 3/ highlighted the achievements and difficulties of international action, and the key impact of macro-level changes, such as structural adjustment, on the advancement of women. A main outcome of the 1985 World Survey and the 1989 update was a recognition that the failure to take women's contribution into account has a negative impact on the society as a whole, by reducing the efficiency of policies and programmes for development.

7. In recent years there has been a trend towards broader understanding of the nature of development and the main elements of a strategy to advance it. These are reflected in the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade 4/ and in Agenda 21. 5/ Each of these provides, as part of its mainstream analysis, for inclusion of gender factors.

8. This also reflects a changing view on the gender dimension of development. It implies that the concept of "women in development" should be given broader meaning and be refocused within a new theoretical framework. Gender is a fundamental organizing principle of human society and is a source for inequality. The concept refers to socially constructed relationships between men and women that are linked to the State, the economy and to all macro and micro processes and institutions. Policies that target women only cannot achieve the best results, nor can those which assume that public actions are gender-neutral in their effects. Hence, promoting gender equality implies a profound change in the socio-economic organization of societies: not only in the way women work, live and care for other members of their households, but also in the way men do, and in the way their respective roles in the family and community are articulated with the need to earn a living.

9. This has opened a new broad field for research and planning for development. It is becoming clear that advancement of women is a dynamic factor and a valuable asset for the overall process of development, and not a burden or a cost or a humanitarian concession to a "disadvantaged" group. The question of gender equality must be raised from the outset.

10. Taking this into consideration, a central argument of the 1994 update of the World Survey will be that the advancement of women can contribute to the achievement of the goals currently on the development agenda of most societies. It will challenge the assumption that equity and efficiency are mutually exclusive outcomes that have to be traded off against each other. It will demonstrate that the solution to economic problems depends on the enhancement of women's economic role. This will include, for example, discussion of such issues as consideration for unremunerated work in the economy and depletion of human resources through excessive workloads when domestic and remunerated work have to be combined.

11. The 1994 World Survey will, like its predecessors, examine the gender dimensions of global economic developments, including in particular the economic restructuring policies of the 1980s, which, in the 1989 World Survey,

were found to have weakened the prospects of many developing countries for achieving either the advancement of women or national development. In particular, the 1994 World Survey will document the ways in which this disinvestment in women may have contributed to the failure to achieve national development objectives.

12. The 1994 World Survey will also be consistent with the view expressed by the Commission on the Status of Women in its resolution 36/5 1/ regarding the "need for women ... to be empowered to define their own means of development". It urged Governments to "adopt policies to promote economic development that will ensure the full and explicit integration of women's needs and concerns", as well as "to include gender perspectives in the major guidelines for economic and social policies and to increase their capacities and capabilities in gender-responsive and gender-sensitive planning of development programmes". Women's "full participation in the elaboration, planning, execution and evaluation of development policies and projects" was also to be fostered.

13. This preliminary version of the 1994 World Survey is an expanded outline, which contains a presentation of what seems at this point to be the central argument of the Survey. It should facilitate the follow-up by the Commission on the Status of Women, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. It should also contribute to harmonizing the approach taken by the agencies and the Secretariat in preparing their chapters.

II. OVERVIEW

14. The overview will present the central argument of the 1994 World Survey. It will define the key concepts used by it. It will synthesize the main findings of the various chapters in view of those major goals and concepts.

15. The overview will highlight two converging movements, one in terms of conceptualizing development itself, and one related to women-in-development issues. Both lead to the proposition that gender equality is one of the conditions of development.

A. New approaches to development

16. The multidimensional character of development is now widely recognized. Conventional understanding of the concept of development focuses on growth of national income and improvement in social indicators, such as life expectancy, infant mortality and school enrolment. Those are frequently supplemented by a concern for the incidence of absolute poverty and for income distribution. Some concepts also include less easily quantifiable objectives such as freedom and increased autonomy, or the need "to live without shame and have self-respect". 6/ Environmental sustainability and concepts such as empowerment, democratization or participation have also been increasingly

integrated in the definition of development adopted in national, regional or international forums.

17. The International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade 4/ reflects those concerns. Adopted by the General Assembly in 1990, the Strategy contains the agreement, the common view of Member States of the United Nations, on development and on measures needed at the national and international levels to accelerate it. Development in the sense of the International Development Strategy includes gender equality both as a goal, and as a means to achieve fundamental development goals, as is explicitly recognized in the case of agricultural development.

18. The Strategy identifies, among the goals and objectives to be pursued through the decade, "a significant improvement in the human condition in the developing countries and a reduction in the gap between poor and rich countries". It also sets "important social and political objectives", and states that "Development over the decade should enhance the participation of all men and women in economic and political life, protect cultural identities and assure to all the necessary means of survival". 7/

19. To achieve these fundamental aims, one of the six interrelated goals identified by the Strategy is: "A development process that is responsive to social needs, seeks a significant reduction in extreme poverty, promotes the development and utilization of human resources and skills and is environmentally sound and sustainable". 8/ Indeed, while the essential objective of the Strategy is the acceleration of economic growth, the Strategy recognizes that "economic growth by itself does not ensure that its benefits will be equitably distributed or that the physical environment will be protected and improved". 9/ Hence, poverty alleviation, human resource development and environment are identified as priority aspects of development where policies and measures are needed. The related areas of population growth and the elimination of hunger are also identified as deserving special attention.

20. Thus, even though it is not explicitly mentioned, persisting gender inequality and some of its manifestations, such as feminized poverty, educational and literacy gaps, or high levels of maternal mortality, are not compatible with the realization of the goals of the Strategy. Gender inequality has also been considered incompatible with environmentally sustainable development because of its consequences for population growth, resource depletion and decision-making processes.

21. During the past few years, there have been significant changes in the world. In the political sphere, the disappearance of the East-West division has considerably improved the international climate. There is a clear trend towards participatory democracy and pluralistic systems of governance across all regions. The profound changes in the political sphere have been mirrored by important shifts in economic fields. Market-oriented strategies of development, with emphasis on individual initiative, entrepreneurship and export-led growth, are gaining nearly universal acceptance. Conventional

wisdom has been challenged, and development can no longer be considered exclusively in terms of capital and technological inputs, ignoring human development. The United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report defines human development as "the process of enlarging people's choices - increasing their opportunities ... and covering the full range of human choices from a sound political environment to economic and political freedom". The report states that development should be "woven around people". 10/ It should refer to both men and women equally, and a successful development strategy implies the need for recognizing the role of women. The World Survey on the Role of Women in Development will stress the dynamic dimension of development and highlight how gender equality can help achieve current development goals and contribute to identifying emerging goals and aims to be pursued through development. Taking gender into account should help to show that some of the goals currently pursued by societies might actually be obstacles, and their achievement may not lead to development.

22. The structure of international action, including such diverse mechanisms as peace-keeping and peacemaking, trade, finance and scientific and technological cooperation, are currently being reformed. The concept of "global governance" can also have a gender dimension, in that women, based on their experiences and perceived interests, may have differing approaches to restructuring international action. The World Survey will include these considerations.

23. The endorsement by the United nations Conference on Environment and Development of Agenda 21 5/ also provides a new understanding of development. It recognizes that one of the important objectives for ensuring sustainable development is to incorporate the participation of women into programme areas of Agenda 21 and to help to generate global awareness about the important role of women in promoting sustainable development. The World Survey will give special emphasis to the relationship between the status of women and the state of the natural environment, giving attention to the issues of access and entitlements to natural resources, technology, creative banking facilities and low-cost housing and the control of pollution and toxicity in the home and workplace.

B. Conceptual changes in the role of women in development

24. The issuance of the first World Survey on the Role of Women in Development in 1985, may be considered one of the outcomes of what has been termed the women-in-development policy approach.

25. As a movement, women in development emerged in the early 1970s. Its aim was to put advancement of women on the agenda of national and international development agencies. It advocated the holding of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, the first international women's conference, in 1975.

26. As a policy approach, women in development corresponded to a new focus on women's productive role, away from an earlier emphasis on women's role as mothers. In contrast to the welfare- and family-oriented programmes of the 1960s, the women-in-development policy approach stressed the resource women represent for economic and social development and the positive link between economic participation and women's emancipation. It evolved into different sub-approaches, one which favoured the achievement of equity of rights between men and women, another which was mainly concerned with the fate of poor women, and a later one which, against the background of the adjustment programmes of the 1980s, stressed that maximizing the paid or unpaid contribution of women ensured more efficient investments and balance-of-payments equilibrium. The associated policy strategies have evolved from the implementation of small-scale income-generating programmes to the objective of mainstreaming women in all policies, that is to say, ensuring that all policies, including sector-focused programmes and policies aimed at influencing the functioning of the entire economy, be gender aware.

27. The period of economic difficulties and of adjustment showed that the benefits of targeted projects, and even of long-lasting policies to advance women, could be swept away by macro-level changes and policies. Until the 1980s, women-in-development proponents had mainly viewed development as "something done by development agencies", and "women were in it insofar as they were recipients of projects and programmes". 11/ Until then, the women-in-development policy approach had deliberately avoided questioning the dominant concepts of development. It sought acceptance by mainstream economists in order to emerge from the social welfare category in which the issue of women had been kept and to obtain more funds for the advancement of women. As a result, it consciously accepted compromises about some of the goals women-in-development activists had originally pursued, such as empowering women through a process of in-depth social, economic and political change. 12/ The women-in-development approach sought to emphasize how a focus on women could contribute to the implementation of dominant development strategies. Its focus on poor women in the 1970s may thus be seen as complementary to the dominant World Bank redistribution-with-growth strategy. Echoing the structural adjustment strategy of the 1980s, it switched to showing how returns on investments could be raised and balance of payments improved through investing in women.

28. Structural adjustment, in that it was broadly challenged and criticized for its impact on the poorer countries, on the most vulnerable sections of the population and on progress towards gender equality, played a key role in initiating a new, more ambitious approach to women and development. The women-in-development movement started to reflect on the type of development in which women were to be integrated. A gender perspective and a clear will to achieve gender equality had to be part of the overall debate on goals and means of development.

29. Among the initiators of this new, alternative women-in-development approach are committed activists from the south. Some are grouped in

international networks, such as the Development Alternatives for Women Network (DAWN). Many of the members are researchers involved in the work of NGOs. This approach, called by some "global feminism" and by others the "empowerment approach" 13/ sees gender inequality as a continuum with inequalities between countries, social classes and ethnics. It stresses the capacity of people, and poor women in particular, to promote their own development if proper support and a conducive environment are provided.

30. The broad diversity found among women and the difficulty of using women as a class has been long noted, inside and outside the United Nations system. Highlighting the structural constraints on women's economic and social role, their social and institutional framework, is also hardly new. What is new, however, and rich in operational consequences, is the formulation of women's issues in terms of gender. It changes the emphasis from women as an artificially homogeneous group, which would have to be targeted anew with each cohort or generation, to the relations between sexes. Gender relations are the social, economic and political relations that determine the "gender identity" of individuals. Gender relations shape women's access to resources and their work opportunities. The system of gender relations constitutes the often invisible and unperceived frame that determine the limits of what a woman may undertake at work, in the family or in public life. It also frames male behaviour, responsibilities and entitlements. Gender relations help determine the functioning of the entire economy and society at all levels. Relationships between spouses, between children and parents, managers and employees, and among community members are all influenced by the dominant model of gender relations. Gender relations often ensure that women are less powerful than men in similar situations. Apparently gender neutral political, social or economic institutions or relations may also be characterized by mechanisms impeding gender equality. For example, women-in-development researchers have pointed out that the priority given to certain products or activities may be determined by the will to encourage activities undertaken by men. 14/

31. Gender relations are experienced differently by different women and are mitigated by class, ethnicity and other factors, including inequalities between countries, religion and political systems. Indeed, there is a complex interaction between gender and factors such as ethnic origin and class, influencing the opportunities and vulnerability of a given individual or group of individuals. Gender relations may shape the economic and social strategies of ethnic groups of migrants. For example, such groups may manipulate traditions and gender relations to their advantage. Depending on the prevailing socio-economic context and on characteristics of the group itself, women may be forced to enter the labour market to supplement insufficient male incomes, or may have to work as unpaid family workers in informal sector enterprises. Gender relations are thus not static; they may evolve as a response of the migrants to opportunities and obstacles to economic participation. They may also be crystallized in their traditional form to fit the strategy chosen (e.g., women's traditional role in the family justifying unpaid employment in a family enterprise). There is no determinism on the

direction in which such relations will work however. This uncertainty opens up a certain space for intervention by public or other actors.

32. The life cycle also plays a key role. The Plan of Action for Implementing the World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children in the 1990s stipulates that "Efforts for the enhancement of women's status and their role in development must begin with the girl child. Equal opportunity should be provided for the girl child to benefit from the health, nutrition, education and other basic services to enable her to grow to her full potential." 15/ The goal of women's equality should start with ensuring equality for girls from infancy to adolescence.

33. The complexity of the issue will have to be taken into account in analysing trends and policies. Certain measures to change gender relations may have a more or less universal impact. This has been said about policies to combat violence against women. Others may have a stronger impact on women from poorer socio-economic backgrounds than on middle class women.

34. Hence, one of the most important steps for researchers and activists in the field of women in development has been the recognition that so-called "women's issues" cannot be resolved in isolation from a broader reflection on the socially constructed relationships between men and women and, more generally, on social and economic structures and trends. In the 1990s, changing the status of women appears impossible in the absence of a rethinking by the whole society of the type of development it is pursuing.

35. This has reinforced the conclusion that the advancement of women cannot be a marginal exercise of micro-level projects. Nor will gender-aware sectoral or macro-level plans be sufficient. The entire range of social and economic relations and policies needs to be reviewed from a gender perspective, and the concern for gender has to permeate the process of defining the goals pursued through development. It should be a category of analysis in which to evaluate the risks associated with current trends, the success or failure of development strategies and State policies, in particular in the field of education, employment, family law and population policy, and national development plans generally.

36. The 1994 World Survey will examine the gender dimension of development as part of its analysis of the role of women in development. Gender is a structural relationship of inequality, and development has gender-specific implications and effects. The World Survey will include an examination of the economic and social mechanisms that determine the gender bias of the economy and society. It will also discuss the economic consequences of the gender bias, both in terms of efficiency as conventionally measured and of a different approach to efficiency, taking into account, in particular, work in the unpaid sphere of the economy.

37. One of the most important contributions of the World Survey will be to explore policy measures to modify gender relations. This will include measures in fields much broader than the economic field. Such measures might

include, for example, different types of work patterns and conditions for both men and women, modifications in social policies or adaptations in the public transport or infrastructure system. Synergies might thus be identified between development, advancement of women and goals and policies in fields apparently not directly related.

38. One of the important contributions of women-in-development activists and researchers has been to highlight the multiple dimensions of women's role. However, there has been a tendency for women-in-development activities to focus exclusively on one role or another, and to ignore how those roles were articulated and, especially, how they were interrelated. For example, women can benefit from enlarged opportunities for remunerated employment only if the sharing of their domestic responsibilities is also addressed. Failure to do so can result in further increases of their workload. Similarly, making the general labour market more accessible to women rather than creating women-only income-generating projects would not only have greater transformation potential for women's position within the family, but would also bypass the need for singling women out for women-specific interventions, which have had a poor record in the past.

39. Another key argument formulated by women-in-development researchers in recent years has been the failure to recognize human reproduction activities and the lack of a rational, organized and legitimate articulation between production and reproduction. This lacuna lies at the heart of most manifestations of gender inequality.

40. Activities related to human reproduction in a broad sense include the care and nurturing provided inside a family (to children, spouses, sick or old people, sisters and brothers) or inside the broader community (to neighbours). It includes raising children and transmitting social and other values. They also include, in developing countries, a whole range of activities such as carrying water and wood and growing vegetables to be used for household consumption. Those activities are not recognized and valued by societies. They are ignored in the design and evaluation of development strategies. It has been considered that this initial failure had prevented development policies from resulting in female empowerment.

41. Through gender-ascriptive relations, human reproduction activities are mainly undertaken by women. They entail work that is not recognized owing to an exclusive concern for the production of commodities. It is not even recognized in the context of strategies termed "human resource development", which focus exclusively on inputs of education and health. This work generally does not carry with it entitlement to an income. This leads either to situations of dependency on male partners or, often, to the double burden resulting from additional activities to raise an income.

42. This lack of recognition of the value of reproduction activities, the fact that they are divorced from income-earning activities, is an obstacle to empowerment, both at the micro-level and at the level of the society as a whole. It often limits both rural and urban women to family duties, impedes

their life choices and hampers their chances of success in all other areas of endeavour, both through the direct burden and the time and energy constraints it entails and through the negative attitudes of the whole society.

43. Hence, the United Nations Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development, held at Vienna from 9 to 11 December 1991, identified, as a key for further reflection on a gender-aware development strategy, the integration of human reproduction activities in a broad sense. One of the experts stated that the starting point was that any development strategy should be centrally concerned with production and reproduction, and with the way these activities are articulated with one another. Those activities should be integrated in the design, implementation and evaluation of policies and programmes.

44. The better integration of human reproduction activities will be a core argument of the 1994 update, both in terms of the efficiency argument and of enriching the development agenda. The World Survey should thus explore alternative ways to integrate activities related to human reproduction and income-earning activities.

45. Increasing the income associated with human reproduction activities is one approach. Women in developing countries have traditionally done so, for example, by selling the little surplus generated by their work in subsistence agriculture. In developed countries, there have been claims for a "housewife wage". An alternative proposal for the developed countries of western Europe has been that the State should provide all members of the society with a basic income entitlement independent from their work and age. Again, the impact of this measure on gender roles in human reproduction activities has been questioned. 16/

46. Another, possibly more promising, approach is to seek a different distribution of human reproduction activities between the State, the market and the community, as well as within the family. The World Survey could set as one of its goals the search for a new type of social contract to recognize human reproduction activities. There has been much regional and international discussion about collective responsibilities as regards child care. The shared responsibilities of public actors, the family, the market and employers have been highlighted. The World Survey could include an examination of how much of human reproduction activities may be transferred away from women and the family to the market, employers, the State and the community, bearing in mind the financial constraints of each key actor. Such discussion could be based on an examination of the impact of trends such as urbanization, migration or industrial development on the sharing of tasks in human reproduction activities for both rural and urban women.

47. Public provision of inputs necessary to perform human reproduction activities are an especially important priority, especially in developing countries, to reduce women's burden, both in rural and urban areas. Those include clean water, electricity, transport and health care. Hence, and this is true in developed countries as well, policies oriented towards the

improvement of standards of living in cities, for example, may have a positive impact on gender relations, thus creating better conditions for human reproduction activities.

48. There is a need, however, to ensure that those policies are exempt from gender biases and do not end up clustering women even more in human reproduction activities. For example, feminist geographers in Europe have criticized urban planning for reproducing unequal gender relations and thus imposing severe constraints on women in achieving human reproduction activities. 17/

49. The World Survey could review public policies in selected areas to determine whether they entail a gender bias. The impact of this bias on women and on the society could be assessed. More desirable patterns and policies could be identified by the World Survey. Examples from country experience could illustrate how women are affected in terms of employment, social benefits, training, household consumption, access to credit, land or capital and other dimensions of well-being. Proposals might be made as to how public policies should be revised so that women would not be victims, and so that the national development prospects of countries were not undermined in order to balance the budget.

50. The effective integration of human reproduction and income-earning activities is only possible if changes are introduced in the mechanisms and rules governing the employment of both men and women. Adapting work conditions to take into account child-care responsibilities of both men and women is a recurrent recommendation in international forums. In developed countries, this includes measures such as flexible working arrangements or parental leave. It should also include measures to ensure that time spent to help raise children is considered an economically valuable experience, as a source of new skills and capacities. It could be considered an obligatory part of career patterns, regardless of the sex of the worker. Such attitudes are emerging in a few countries. There are increasing aspirations among men for different rhythms of work and careers, including some time off from paid employment to concentrate on family responsibilities. Such patterns might also be consistent with aspirations to introduce more flexibility as regards retirement age in developed societies and for certain professions.

51. Recognition of the importance of the integration of work and responsibilities in the family has operational consequences for programmes and projects in developing countries. It should ensure that all development programmes or projects include a child-care component, and possibly provide certain support to other human reproduction activities. The concern for avoiding overburdening women should always be present in such projects. The World Survey will explore other possible actions in developing countries.

C. Types of policy recommendations to emerge from the 1994 World Survey

52. The World Survey will emphasize the key importance for development of taking into account gender relations and the interrelationship between human reproduction activities and earning a living. This will influence the type of policy recommendations to emerge from the World Survey.

53. Policies and strategies should be formulated in a long-term framework. Indeed, they should be oriented towards the transformation of social institutions, as well as attitudinal and behavioural characteristics, which determine gender bias in society. All such changes are interconnected, and the outcome of these interactions will define structural change of the society in general, which will be shaped according to newly emerging priorities, one of which is the advancement of women.

54. Indeed, this longer-term approach complements policies with an immediate aim of addressing crisis situations or providing emergency assistance to more vulnerable parts of the population. Policy actions and objectives should be identified in terms of cohorts, with different objectives to be pursued for different cohorts of women. They should also adopt a life-cycle approach, pursuing the objective of reducing the probability that vulnerable situations will occur at later ages.

55. Two additional dimensions will govern the formulation of policy recommendations in the World Survey: empowerment and the analysis of the role of the State, the market and the community in the process of development.

56. The processes of development and democratization are inseparably linked, and it is necessary to ensure that men and women have equal opportunities to participate and benefit from these processes. In that respect the empowerment of women becomes an important issue in the formulation of international and national development strategies. All individuals, women jointly and equally with men, should set the development agenda of their own societies and should have a voice in the allocation and use of resources, whether they be fiscal revenues, economic or cultural resources or access to power.

57. Empowerment of women would bring women's input into the formulation of socio-economic policies, which now tend to reflect mainly the values, perspectives and life experience of the men who make them. The World Survey will study the impact of increased numbers of female decision-makers on the content of policies and development plans, as well as how such macro-changes influence the micro-level (such as real power over the use of income and the power to make family and professional choices), the level of the household, the family and the community. The stress should be put on the "self-empowerment of women", a process through which women themselves play the key role in gaining equal control over micro- and macro-level choices. 18/

58. The goal of empowerment should serve as a criterion according to which each chapter of the World Survey on the Role of Women in Development should identify needs for interventions and evaluate the efficiency of actions taken. For example, there is considerable discussion of linkages between economic participation and change in female status. In general, a positive relationship between development, female economic activity and gender equality has been found. 19/ For example, a large number of studies in the gender-and-development literature have confirmed the findings of a study in Nepal that women's involvement in market activities gives women much greater power within the household in terms of their input in all aspects of household decision-making, including the control over their fertility. At the same time, confining women's work to the domestic sphere and the subsistence sectors reduces their power vis-à-vis men in the household. 20/ In addition, when women begin earning independent income, their self-esteem grows. However, female entry in formal or informal employment under difficult working conditions, with poor and unfair wages, together with household and family duties, places additional burdens on women. The traditional sexual division of labour and responsibilities limits the improvement in the status of women brought about by informal entrepreneurship. 21/ The World Survey will analyse positive and negative aspects of female economic participation with a view to formulating appropriate policy recommendations.

59. Throughout the World Survey, strategies will be evaluated against this criteria of empowerment. Questions to be answered include: do migration and urbanization represent an opportunity for women to gain power over their own life and that of their family and community? Under which conditions does credit for women mean empowerment? What could be the impact of better measurement and recognition of unremunerated housework on the empowerment of women? How may policies in the long run achieve the goal of translating employment in the informal sector into increased female power? Why does it happen in some regions and not in others? How can the functioning of the State, as well as that of markets, be democratized to facilitate the equal participation of women?

60. The World Survey will analyse the role of the State, the market and the community in the process of development. All three agents are viewed as useful and necessary, but also imperfect, if acting alone or without proper coordination. The World Survey will make an attempt to answer the question of how to find the proper combination of efforts of each of the agents, introduce gender awareness and achieve the implementation of development goals.

61. The role of the State is of vital concern. For the last development decade, which was characterized by structural adjustment programmes, the inclination was to remove State inteference in order to free capitalism and allow the market mechanism to operate through the impersonal forces of supply and demand. As a result, the reduction of subsidies which were received indirectly through State-financed education, health care and housing negatively affected the lives of many people in developing countries. So, while a withdrawal of the State is considered necessary to achieve many

aspects of growth, objectives such as poverty reduction and environmental sustainability clearly call for renewed and innovative State action. 22/

62. An important area for public intervention is the reorganization of the articulation between production and reproduction. The State has a unique role to play in better integrating the two. Its normative role is essential in the reorganization of work conditions and the strengthening of the entitlements and rights of those in charge of child care. It also has a key role to play in initiating a different type of social contract between the different actors for human reproduction activities. It may use its resources to set up incentives for change and innovative experiences.

63. The role of the State also includes identifying some long-term trends, which might not be anticipated by the market but can be of importance. One example of this is the process of ageing and its implication for retirement systems, particularly for women, in view of their often low official work record.

64. The expansion of market relations adds new economic opportunities and new ways of achieving prosperity through specialization and exchange, but it also introduces new sources of vulnerability. Particularly vulnerable are those with nothing to sell but their capability for work, their labour power.

65. Women are more vulnerable in that respect than men because they do not enjoy the same relationship to their own labour. For women, the ability to work is not socially constituted as something which they unconditionally own and can freely dispose of. The sexual division of labour establishes certain types of work as the social obligation of women. The bulk of this work involves caring for others - children, the sick, the old and able-bodied adult men, too - and such work has a prior claim on women's time. Women's relation to their own labour is conditioned by their relation to men. The structure of gender relations gives men the social power to set limits on the type of work that women undertake. Moreover, they may not even be able to fully control the fruits of their labours - they may be appropriated by their menfolk. Thus, women are in more disadvantaged position in the market.

66. Moreover, markets themselves are gender-biased. One of their main biases is their neglect of human reproduction activities. Human reproduction activities, and their exclusive bearing on women, constitute a barrier to the free functioning of market forces. This was shown in particular with regard to adjustment policies, where the burden of family responsibilities and human reproduction activities appeared to prevent women from responding to incentives to move towards the tradeable sector, for example. 23/ Human reproduction activities are, however, regarded by the markets as a free good or service, are ignored in expectations on the results of policies and are absent from considerations on the efficiency of actions implemented. This bias should not only be seen as a constraint lying outside the market: it influences the functioning of the market itself.

67. The World Survey will examine the kinds of mechanisms that must be introduced in order for the market to recognize women as human beings with rights, capabilities and responsibilities. Is it necessary to introduce and uphold health and safety regulations; to provide services like sanitation, electricity, and child-care; to educate women workers about their rights and enable them to uphold such rights and bargain for higher incomes; and to provide alternative sources of employment and credit. In addition, the question arises as to whether State intervention to provide alternative employment opportunities in the public sector can enhance the bargaining power of female labour in the private sector.

68. Coherent and consistent development policy depends on effective cooperation between different levels of policy-making bodies. This raises the question of balance between centralized and decentralized decision-making. The move towards democracy and the drive for flexibility and responsiveness to various needs of different groups of population increase the pressure to decentralized decision-making and increase the role of local governments and community organizations. The achievement of the proper balance between different actors is an important challenge. However, whichever way democracy develops in the future, the role of central regulation should remain in the area of setting minimum standards and conditions for a fair social environment, including rules against discrimination.

69. Another sphere for government intervention is to determine the conditions in which people in general and women in particular can truly participate in designing the goals pursued by their societies and communities. Government should create an environment favourable to participation. It is vital that the initiatives on behalf of women are accorded a legitimate place in a plurality of democratic and participatory practices.

70. The issues at stake in the World Survey thus include the transparency and openness of policy-making processes, including identification of draft strategies, targets and timetables by Governments and tougher mechanisms of disclosure and accountability for public officials, as well as the kind of democratization women want and how to extend democratization beyond periodic elections so as to give citizens real control over the allocation of resources.

71. The international debate on development is presently stressing the role of non-State actors such as community organizations and networks and non-governmental organizations. Their capacity for adequate targeting has been emphasized in particular. An important role of the State is viewed as the creation and maintenance of an environment favourable to the flourishing of actions of non-State bodies in fields such as poverty alleviation, micro-scale credit and income-generating activities, or the local delivery of certain social services. Participatory and bottom-up approaches to socio-economic and development planning, and the associated objective of empowering the intended beneficiaries of any development programme are now widespread. Those approaches call for innovative integration of grass-roots

and non-governmental organizations in planning at all levels. In the field of women and development, their role is also increasingly stressed.

72. There are limitations to what non-governmental organizations alone can achieve for gender equality. These include limitations of resources, as well as the fact that their actions may be countered by the State itself or by powerful economic and social mechanisms. In addition, and this has been studied by a number of women-in-development researchers, not all non-governmental organizations pursue what have been termed "strategic gender needs" and the realization of gender equality. Certain categories of non-governmental organizations are concerned with alleviating burdens and problems faced daily by women, without addressing the root causes of their unequal situation. Their action is, however, necessary and may create a basis for increased awareness of gender inequality. However, not all non-governmental organizations are democratically organized, and not all provide good forums for starting a process of female self-empowerment and participation.

73. The importance given to grass-roots and other non-governmental organizations in present strategies calls for careful scrutiny of their actual and potential activities, organizational characteristics and functioning. Indeed, some researchers and activists have cautioned against relying too exclusively on non-State actors for the pursuit of social (and moral) goals 24/ and of gender equality. The World Survey could include some reflection on the efficiency of non-governmental organizations for promoting gender-aware development, and on the long-term viability of their actions. It could also examine whether those organizations are adequate as regards objectives such as democratization, empowerment and gender equality, in particular. The capacity of non-governmental and community organizations to be effective and genuine partners in promoting gender-aware development is also likely to vary from one organization to the other. Development Alternatives for Women Network (DAWN) and various researchers have attempted to make a classification of women's non-governmental organizations and have proposed strategies for gender-aware development through networking or mutual consciousness-raising between organizations. The various chapters of the World Survey could make use of such a classification and identify efficient strategies. The role of women's non-governmental organizations versus strategies focusing on integration in non-female non-governmental organizations could also be examined.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE 1994 WORLD SURVEY

74. The substantive chapters of the survey will be divided between those articulating the nature of problems and those emphasizing solutions to them, using gender as a method of analysis. The identification of the problems listed in the present report has been based on their interrelationships and relevance to all countries. In that respect, they require international consensus in terms of analysis and public response, taking into consideration

national peculiarities. The new political environment creates such favourable conditions for new cooperative actions and responses.

75. There has been a growing awareness that a healthy environment is an important prerequisite for successful development. The World Survey will view the implications of sustainable development through a gender lens and provide policy recommendations about environmentally sound patterns of development. This theme should permeate each chapter of the World Survey.

A. Problems

1. Poverty

76. Against the background of achievements in economic development, over 1 billion people still live in poverty, of whom 630 million are extremely poor. It has become obvious that economic development does not automatically lead to distribution of resources based upon equity, especially for the poorest. Moreover, development theories and strategies for alleviating poverty derived from them have not included gender analysis. Failing to take gender into account in micro- and macroeconomic policies sustains poverty and affects women disproportionately. The poor are still more likely to be women than men.

77. The chapter on poverty will analyse the issue of women in extreme poverty in the societal context in which poverty occurs. The focus of analysis will be the gender factors explaining why women become poor and the underlying reasons for women being disproportionately represented among the poorest of the poor, in order to identify realistic and effective policy and programme responses.

78. Particular emphasis will be placed on the destabilizing effects of poverty on the traditional family structure and the consequent changes of the reproductive and productive roles of men and women in the society. The increasing numbers of female-headed households are often both a result of and a condition for poverty. Women develop strategies for coping with poverty that differ from those used by men, deriving from the continued responsibility of women for the survival of the family and their caring role. Understanding these gender differences is essential for the design of policies and programmes to eradicate poverty.

79. Emphasis will also be placed on the issue of inter-generational reproduction of poverty, as an attempt to identify mechanisms through which poverty is passed on within a household to future generations. The social costs of poverty will be examined as well.

80. Poverty at levels defined as unacceptable requires a public response. However, public responses can be made by different actors using different means. The question of which public responses are most effective stands at the centre of the issue of incorporating gender into national planning. For

this reason, the roles of different actors such as the State, the market and the community in a transformed development process for alleviating poverty, based on gender analysis, will be examined using poverty as the focus. The potential capacity of each institution to deal with the issue, as well as its limitations, will be appraised.

81. At the centre of the analysis will be an examination of the role of public policies and programmes in coordinating the response of the State itself, the community and the market forces in order to find the proper combination of efforts that can address poverty in a gender-sensitive way. It is in this sense the the chapter will address the integration of women into national planning and suggest possible strategies in that respect.

2. Urbanization

82. The chapter on urbanization will explore possibilities for ensuring that the urbanization process favours the advancement of women through a reorganization of human reproduction activities. Its objective will be to identify measures to achieve gender equality through urban development.

83. It should assess the impact of urbanization on gender roles. The focus will be on how human reproduction activities and work are articulated while urbanization proceeds. The effect of urban development on gender roles in the two sets of activities is likely to vary in different sociocultural contexts, and at different stages of the urbanization process. Indeed, the division of gender roles and the dominant type of population movements towards the city vary over time. Arrangements and devices to undertake human reproduction activities are likely to be adapted at each stage of the urban development process. Tasks may be shared differently within households and the community may take over or give up certain activities of human reproduction, while others become sold services on the market. There may be also a certain sharing of responsibilities between urban and rural areas, with certain activities remaining in rural areas while others are transferred to cities. The type of arrangement that prevails is closely linked to the characteristics of male and female labour force participation.

84. Based on a clear picture of relationships between urban development and the articulation between work and human reproduction activities, the chapter will discuss opportunities for public intervention to initiate or support changes in gender roles.

85. This will include a review of current urban planning and socio-economic policies in urban areas. There should be an assessment of underlying assumptions about the division of roles in human reproduction activities. Assumptions on the respective roles of men and women in economic and non-economic spheres will be the focus. But assumptions on the role of the State and public authorities at various levels, including the municipal level, versus that of the market will be discussed. So will hypotheses on the

repartition of tasks between urban and rural areas and between different parts of the cities. The chapter will also determine whether policies adequately address the needs of women in their current situation.

86. The chapter will suggest possible strategies to overcome gender biases in policies and pursue gender equality through urbanization. This could lead to the identification of more desirable patterns of urbanization as regards the objective of gender equality. Gender-aware policy instruments and goals for urban areas might also be discussed. Opportunities for participation and democratization in the different types of cities could also be studied. The chapter will consider how to ensure that women are equally involved.

3. Informal sector

87. Recent research on women and development has suggested that the informal sector is a highly "gendered" concept. There ought to be a differentiation between a female and a male informal sector, both of which entail different types of activities, worker-employer relationships and different types of constraints, risks and opportunities. A broad variety of situations is experienced by female workers in the rural and urban informal sectors. Their status, income and goals differ. Some seek survival, others stabilization and security and yet others growth. 24/ Women are, however, usually concentrated in low-income, low-status activities such as petty trading, and in the less stable types of worker-employee relationships. Those characteristics, compounded with their status in the family and in the society, often limit the consequences of women's informal-sector work in terms of control over resources and true empowerment.

88. The chapter could provide an analysis of the factors governing the gender dimension of informal-sector employment. Particular attention could be given to the relationships between gender relations in the overall society and economy, on the one hand, and the characteristics and factors of women's employment in the informal sector, on the other hand. How obstacles to formal-sector employment push women into the informal sector is but one aspect. How gender relations limit opportunities and resources for women and hamper chances of successful entrepreneurial activity in the informal sector could also be discussed.

89. A main focus for the chapter will be the discussion of policy approaches. Emphasis will be given to policies, rather than to programmes and projects. The policy level usually receives less attention but is of key importance for the informal sector and women therein.

90. The overall policy goals for the informal sector could be reviewed from a gender perspective. The role of the informal sector in poverty reduction has been stressed. In recent years, there has been a new emphasis on dynamic micro-enterprises with a capacity to expand and create employment. Fear has been expressed that this new approach might diminish the chances that policies and programmes will reach the female informal sector. 25/ At the same time,

the concern for the sustainability of actions towards the informal sector speaks in favour of targeting the more dynamic sections and units of the informal sector.

91. A long-term perspective and a policy effort to promote structural change in the gender dimensions of the informal sector may reconcile those two concerns. The chapter may thus explore the possible goals and means of such a policy. Policy actions targeting the informal sector are needed. Changes might be needed in labour law, civil codes, banking laws, as well as regards insurance companies' laws and rules towards the self-employed, for example. Policy action to modify the sociocultural constraints that influence the characteristics of female work in the informal sector would also be needed. The family dimension of most informal-sector work also calls for a review of family laws, and actions to rectify biases inside the family. The focus of the chapter will be on biases which have a bearing on women's participation in informal-sector employment. The impact of such a policy obviously would be much broader. Synergies with other macro-level goals could thus be highlighted. Pursuing a structural change in characteristics of female participation in the informal sector is consistent with the objective of integrating the informal sector into the mainstream of the economy. 26/

92. Another issue to be discussed in the chapter is the role of the State versus the market and the community. The chapter could also include some discussion of the possible contribution of non-governmental organizations or informal institutions and mechanisms to the long-term achievement of gender equality. Possible biased attitudes and activities could be assessed and ways to overcome them proposed.

4. International economy

93. The content of the chapter on the international economy will be adjusted in view of major developments in the international economic and political situation. Indeed, the chapter ought to be as forward-looking as possible and give a gender perspective to emerging trends and problems.

94. The present context is dominated by the reform process in formerly centrally planned economies. They are emerging in international trade and international development agencies at a moment when there are growing worries about a global shortage of savings to finance development, when stagnation persists in major Western industrialized countries and when most developing economies are still in crisis. There has also been a recognition of the limitations of structural adjustment strategies even as regards purely economic objectives, and a new emphasis on human resource development, poverty reduction, democratization and accountability. The need for innovative thinking on institutional arrangements at the international level to deal with trends and changes of common importance has been recognized.

95. Hence, based on discussions at the United Nations Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development, the chapter on the international economy could tackle the issues discussed in the following paragraphs:

96. The chapter could review the implications of emerging trends and investment patterns for different categories of women. For example, it could assess the impact for female employment in labour-intensive manufacturing of the entry of formerly centrally planned economies in the international trade competition.

97. It could assess possible biases in the way international trade and investment are organized and propose ways to correct those biases. One aspect could be to assess whether the shift of activities to certain countries is determined by factors linked to gender biases. Comparative advantages experienced by countries as regards some products could be questioned, if low prices reflect an exploitation of the female labour force. In-depth research could be conducted to identify areas where such bias do exist. The chapter ought to evaluate how the reduction of gender bias would improve the functioning of the international economy.

98. The chapter could also contribute to the debate on international and national policies in the field of adjustment. It should go beyond discussing the impact of adjustment on women. It should emphasize how the reduction of gender biases would help to move towards a solution to the structural crisis experienced by developing economies, on the African continent especially, and to the achievement of longer-term development goals.

99. The chapter could also explore how women can participate in mechanisms of global governance and how the objective of reducing gender biases may become part of such mechanisms and discussions. The role of international organizations and non-governmental organizations therein could be assessed.

5. The reform process in formerly centrally planned economies and its impact on women

100. The process of political and economic reform in countries that were completely or mostly centrally planned, especially in Eastern Europe and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is complex and comprehensive. It is aimed at a transformation of the entire social, economic and ideological system that existed before. The nature of the reform in each country differs according to national conditions, both in terms of past development and present resources, and each have set their own priorities in the economic and social spheres. However, a common factor is that advancement of women is not considered a major priority for the reform process nor an important factor. There is an implicit assumption that the reform process is gender-neutral, that it affects women and men alike. But this assumption masks latent inequality, which existed before the reform process.

101. The chapter will make a comparative analysis of the economic situation of women, considering negative and positive changes in their status. Special emphasis will be placed on the participation of women in entrepreneurial activity and economic decision-making. The chapter could also contribute to the issue of incorporating a gender approach in national policy during the transitional period in order to mobilize the latent capabilities of women in the process of development.

B. Solutions

1. Human resources development

102. The chapter on human resources development will attempt to evaluate the emerging strategy of human resources development from a gender perspective. In the present context, human resources development is seen as something more than education and health and more than an emphasis on the human being as a generator of resources and a source of productivity. It is seen as mobilizing the latent capabilities of people and recognizing their contribution in the process of development. The chapter will include a discussion of the goals of human resources development strategies and the implications of focusing on the promotion of growth, rather than on enhancing the capabilities of individuals. Crucial emphasis will be placed on changes in articulation between human reproduction activities and productive work. The impact of present strategies on women from different socio-economic backgrounds could be assessed, and the chapter could study how this impact may be mitigated by gender relations and inequality inside the household. Whether and how gender relations are affected by human resources development strategies will also be examined. A key issue for this evaluation will be how human reproduction activities and unpaid work are dealt with by such a strategy.

103. Selected aspects of human resources development strategies could be studied to carry out this evaluation and illustrate its core argument. Those might include, under the heading "Acquiring the conditions for development":

(a) Education skills;

(b) Health and family planning;

(c) Sharing traditional burdens.

2. Access to economic instruments and empowerment

104. The main issue of the chapter on access to economic instruments and empowerment will be how to ensure that access to economic instruments results in true empowerment of women - namely, in a change in the power she has over her own life and that of her community - and a new balance in gender relations in the economy and the society. In assessing the efficiency of some of their

activities, agencies could highlight issues related to the sustainability of actions and the long-term impact on gender roles. Again, an important dimension will be whether and how the articulation between human reproduction activities and productive work is dealt with by operational activities. The policy level of intervention versus programmes and projects approaches will be discussed. So will the respective role of the State, the market and the community. The chapter will look at issues related to women in entrepreneurship and issues of women and access to land.

105. Financial services are provided by both formal and informal institutions. Experience shows that in most developing countries they are primarily provided by the informal sector. Friends and relatives, traders, money-lenders and group-based financial arrangements are the only option available, especially for poor rural households. Formal financial institutions, like commercial banks and specialized and development finance institutions, often meet the needs of the upper strata of the rural population. Women are particularly affected by the limited access to formal financial services, in spite of the fact that they are better savers and the more reliable credit customers. The World Survey will assess and analyse the policies, legislation, traditions and economic and political pressures at macro- and micro-levels that limit equitable and gender-specific access to financial services and land titles, which are used as loan collateral. It will also make recommendations to improve the situation.

106. The participation of women in manufacturing, including patterns, determinants and future trends, will be covered. Here, the role that female industrial labour assumes for economic and industrial progress and for the achievements of social development objectives will be assessed and examined from the global perspective, as well as the factors that influence favourably or hamper women's integration in manufacturing. The analysis will also present a frame of reference for a similar examination at the regional level and for in-depth studies of the industrial sectors of selected countries. The trends and patterns of economic/industrial participation of women will be verified and appropriate recommendations concerning policy strategy options regarding the future directions of women's industrial role will be determined.

3. Women in decision-making, participation and democratization

107. The chapter on women in decision-making, participation and democratization will briefly highlight gender inequality in economic decision-making. Relevant indicators on the gender distribution of economic power are still in the process of being identified. Special attention will be given to identifying relevant indicators in developing countries. Gender inequality in top-level posts in the private sector, and in wealth and income distribution are likely to be discussed in the chapter. It might include some discussion on the sharing of economic responsibilities inside the household. How gender relations in the overall economy and society determine inequality in economic decision-making will be assessed.

108. The issue of economic decision-making will be approached in the context of the dominant idea of the World Survey, namely, the articulation between human reproduction activities and income-earning activities. Hence, measures to remedy low female representation in economic decision-making, up to the higher levels, will include action to redistribute gender responsibilities in human reproduction. Such measures range from adaptations of the organization of employment for both men and women to adaptations of transport systems, housing policies and urban planning, or to new approaches for the provision of child care. The need for equal opportunity policies will also be discussed, as well as their impact on women from different socio-economic backgrounds, and on gender relations in the long term.

109. The chapter will contain an evaluation of the emerging emphasis on democratization of development. It will highlight possible gender biases in this goal and discuss ways to facilitate women's empowerment in the process of democratization. It could identify ways to give citizens control over resource allocation in both the public and private sectors, and actions to ensure that women exercise such control. There will be some discussion of the impact of the number of women in decision-making on the content of actions taken. Its consequences in terms of female empowerment will also be discussed. The role of non-governmental organizations to facilitate female participation in macro-level and international decision-making will also be discussed in the chapter.

Notes

1/ See Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1992, Supplement No. 4 (E/1992/24), chap. I, sect. C.

2/ United Nations publication, Sales No. 86.IV.3.

3/ United Nations publication, Sales No. 89.IV.2.

4/ General Assembly resolution 45/199, annex.

5/ Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 3-14 June 1992 (A/CONF.151/26), chap. I, resolution 1, annex II.

6/ K. Griffin, Alternative Strategies for Economic Development (London, MacMillan, 1989).

7/ General Assembly resolution 45/199, annex, para. 13.

8/ Ibid., para. 14 (a).

9/ Ibid., para. 78.

Notes (continued)

10/ United Nations Human Development Report, 1992, p. 2.

11/ Diane Elson, Gender issues in development strategies, United Nations, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, Division for the Advancement of Women, Seminar on the Integration of Women in Development, Vienna, 9-11 December 1991 (SWID/1991/WP.1), p. 13.

12/ See Nuket Kardam, Bringing women in women's issues in international development programmes (Lyne Rienner Publisher, 1991), p. 13.

13/ Diane Elson, Gender issues in development strategies, p. 14.

14/ M. Mbilinyi, "Agribusiness and women peasants in Tanzania", Development and Change, vol. 19, No. 11, 1988.

15/ A/45/625, annex, p. 11, para. 15.

16/ Diane Elson, Male bias in the development process (Manchester University Press, 1991).

17/ Jo Little, Linda Peake and Pat Richardson, Women in Cities, Gender and Urban Environment (MacMillan Education Ltd., 1988).

18/ Diane Elson, Gender issues in development strategies.

19/ See, for example, V. Moghadam, "Development and women's emancipation: is there a connection?", Development and Change, vol. 23, No. 3, 1992, pp. 215-225; see also Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen, Hunger and public action, (Oxford, Clarandon Press, 1989), chap. 4.

20/ Acharya, Meena and Lynn Bennett, The Rural Women of Nepal: An Aggregate Analysis and Summary of Eight Village Studies, vol. 2, part 9 (Nepal, Centre for Economic Development and Administration, Tribhuvan University, 1981).

21/ Susan Greenhalgh, "Women in the informal enterprises: empowerment or exploitation?", The Population Council, working paper No. 33, 1991.

22/ M. Lipton and S. Maxwell, "The new poverty agenda: an overview", IDS, Sussex, February 1992.

23/ See Diane Elson, "Male bias in the development process"; I. Palmer, Gender and population in the adjustment of African economies: planning for change (Geneva, ILO, 1991).

Notes (continued)

24/ Gita Sen, Center for Development Studies, "Macroeconomic policies and the informal sector, a gender sensitive approach"; United Nations, International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, Conference on Macroeconomic Policies Towards Women in the Informal Sector, Rome, March 1991.

25/ See, for example, Buvinic, Women's Venture: Assistance to the Informal Sector in Latin America (Kumarian Press, Inc., 1990).

26/ International Labour Organisation, The Dilemma of the Informal Sector, Report of the Director General, Part I, International Labour Conference, Seventy-eighth session (Geneva, 1991).